



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

J U N E , 1 8 5 4 .

PROCEEDINGS

AT THE

ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

R E P O R T .

The cause of Peace, during the last year, has been brought to a most trying ordeal. After nearly forty years of general peace, and when almost an entire generation had grown up happily ignorant by their own experience of the crimes and woes inseparable from actual warfare, Europe seems now on the eve of a terrible conflict, and there is some danger that our own country may yet be drawn within the sweep of its mighty vortex. Four nations, embracing an aggregate population of some 150,000,000, and possessing resources of wealth and power, greater perhaps than all the world besides, have committed themselves on the banks of the Danube, and the waters of the Baltic and Black Seas, to a desperate struggle whose ultimate issues no human sagacity can foresee. It can hardly fail, should the passions of the leaders become thoroughly aroused, to be a fearful chapter in the Revelations of War ; such an apocalypse of crime, of mischief and of misery as the world has seldom, if ever, witnessed on a scale so vast and appalling.

Now, what does such a crisis demand from the friends of peace ? How shall we meet it ? What can we do, or what ought we to attempt ? Shall we abandon ourselves to despair, and cease for the time from earnest, hopeful efforts ; or shall we, trusting in the God of Peace, gird ourselves with fresh vigor to meet the special demands of this trying emergency ?

God grant that our friends may all prove faithful in this hour of trial, and none be left to timid, desponding views. Let them never say, 'It is all in vain.' We have labored in both hemispheres for more than one third of a century ; and here is the result—the war-spirit rife even where most has been done in the cause of Peace ; the mightiest nations of the Old World mustering for a desperate struggle ; and in our own country a piratical, filibustering spirit rampant among a portion of the people, and our very government ready to pick a quarrel with Spain, and plunge into war with despo-

VOL. XI.—NO. V. MONTHLY.

tism itself for the perpetuation of human bondage in Cuba. We had supposed the war-spirit almost dead, lulled into slumbers from which it would never awake as of old; but now we see it starting up fierce as ever, and panting to ravage the earth with fire and sword. We had begun to hope we should have no more war; but now we behold the nations girding themselves for a conflict that threatens to convulse and deluge the world. What good have all our labors in this cause thus far done? Of what avail any further efforts? We want to see some decisive, permanent impression on men at the helm of public affairs, such as shall at once change entirely their war-policy, and bring them to the actual adoption of a peace-policy, before we can have heart or hope to labor any more in the cause of Peace.'

How ill do such views become the friends of this great Christian enterprise! Because thirty or forty years of effort by a mere handful of men, at an expense of less than a twentieth part of what it costs to support a single regiment, have not yet sufficed to exorcise, or hold in perpetual check, the war-spirit of the whole civilized world, shall we at once give up in despair, and cease from all further exertions? We have still the full, unequivocal promise of God; and can we not trust that, and labor more than thirty or forty years for its fulfilment? Did any intelligent Christian ever dream of its being fulfilled in so short a period, or make the duty of labor in this cause dependent on such speedy success? Did Paul or Peter, Luther or George Fox, any true Christian reformer or philanthropist, ever act or argue in such a spirit?—How strange, indeed, the expectation of success so mighty from the meagre amount of means hitherto used! What means? An average of little, if at all, more for all Christendom, than \$5000 a year for the last thirty-nine years. Could we reasonably expect such a mere pittance, in less than forty years, to expel or repress the war-spirit throughout the civilized world, to render the recurrence of war among its nations morally impossible, and put an end to their entire war-system—a system deeply rooted in the worst passions of our nature, fortified by the uniform practice of six thousand years, intertwined with the strongest prejudices of all classes, dove-tailed into the entire structure of government, wrought into the immemorial habits of society, and sustained in vigor at an expense to Europe alone of \$1,000,000,000 every year even of peace? All this in forty years by \$5000 a year! And because we have not accomplished in so short a time what could hardly have been expected in a whole century from efforts a thousand-fold greater, shall we now sit down in despair? God forbid that any laborer in this cause should harbor such a thought for a moment.

Let us look at a few facts touching the case, and see if we cannot gather, even from the omens of ill now around us, some lessons of encouragement, some new views of duty, some fresh incentives to zeal in this arduous yet blessed work. It were ingratitude, no less than folly, to forget or ignore the success already attained. Before the downfall of Napoleon, at the close of a twenty-three years' fierce and bloody struggle, Europe had seldom been free from war more than ten or fifteen years at a time; but from 1815, the date

of special efforts in this cause, to 1854, its nations have reposed in general peace among themselves, and that, too, in spite of the revolutionary outbursts in and since 1848, which really furnished stronger provocations to war, than did the first French Revolution which so long overwhelmed that continent with blood. Had there been no change in the general sentiment and practice on this subject, 1848 would never have passed away without kindling the flames of war all over the Old World. True, there was fighting, but not war—bloody struggles between rulers and their subjects, but no war between any nations. And how much has thus been gained? No arithmetic can ever compute the sum total of blessings for time and eternity resulting already from so long a continuance of general peace; for in these thirty-nine years, though the peace has been only a sort of armed truce under the guardianship of three and sometimes four million bayonets, Europe has still made, in less than forty years of even such a peace, more progress in population and wealth, in all the elements of general prosperity and happiness, than she ever had in any two or perhaps five centuries before. Is here no success for which we ought to thank God, and take courage?

We marvel that any one should regard the rise of this Turco-Russian war as the slightest proof of ill success in our cause. It lies far beyond the range of our efforts hitherto. We have never employed an agent, never circulated a single tract, in either Turkey or Russia; and the only effect on those countries from our cause must have been through the general improvement of public opinion in Christendom, and from the influence of a few governments, like that of England, which we have directly reached more or less by our efforts. It would be scarcely more absurd to infer the failure of temperance in New England, from the simple fact, that men still get drunk in Greenland or China, than it is to make a war between Russia and Turkey a criterion of success thus far in the cause of Peace.

Indeed, the rise of this very war has been attended by circumstances quite significant of the progress we have already made. If it be said that England and France, the countries where most has been done for Peace, did in fact decide the war for the Sultan, and virtually undertake its prosecution, it may suffice to observe how reluctantly they came to this dread conclusion, how long they held Turkey back from it, and how earnestly and perseveringly they employed every expedient, compatible with the usage of nations, to prevent an appeal to the sword. Had public sentiment been what it was one half century ago, they would probably have rushed to arms a year sooner than they did, and all Europe might, long ere this, have been whelmed in the horrors of a general war. Nor is this all; for the belligerents seem inclined to mitigate very much the evils of the conflict, by the suppression of such practices as privateering; and the same disposition will doubtless induce them to bring the contest to a much speedier close than would have been possible fifty years ago. Here are palpable, decisive proofs of no little progress in our cause.

This war will of course furnish many an argument for peace by showing the suicidal folly of the custom, and the countless evils of every kind that

are inseparable from the strife of nations. John Bright, a shrewd man of business, as well as an able and eloquent member of the British Parliament, reckoned from data then before him, that the mere apprehensions of this war had, as early as last October, sunk property to the amount of two hundred millions sterling, or one thousand million dollars. At this rate, what havoc must its actual progress make! Should it last only a single year, it must destroy more wealth than has been spent since our Saviour's crucifixion, in 1800 years, to spread the gospel among the unevangelized! All this, too, will be the least of its manifold evils; and after both parties shall have grown weary of enduring and inflicting these evils, they will be obliged, as the only possible way of ever settling the dispute, to sheath the sword, and betake themselves to negotiation, reference, or some other peaceful expedient which they might just as well have employed before war as after it.

These measures, then, we urge nations to adopt before fighting, and thus obviate the alleged necessity of ever fighting at all. They still talk of war as settling their controversies! War settles nothing, but leaves the points in dispute just where it found them. Let them fight as long and hard as they please; let them shed rivers of blood, and waste myriads on myriads of treasure; let them lay cities and provinces without number in ruins; let them spread carnage and utter desolation over whole empires or continents; they must, after all, stop fighting, and resort for the final adjustment to the very means they might have used to better purpose before the war began.

These means may all be resolved into negotiation, or some form of reference; for in every dispute the parties must either decide the matter between themselves, or let somebody else decide it for them. The former is negotiation, and the latter either arbitration or mediation, both which are only different modes of reference. The law and usage of civilized nations already forbid an appeal to arms until negotiation has exhausted its utmost efforts in vain; and we would fain have it equally incumbent upon them to employ every species of reference before the sword shall be drawn, and even to agree beforehand, that they will, in the last resort, submit all their controversies to arbitrators mutually chosen, and either abide by their decision, or ask merely a new hearing, or a different reference, so as to make sure, in any event, of a peaceful adjustment. We urge them to *stipulate* for this in their treaties — **STIPULATED ARBITRATION**. We would have them provide for it *in advance*, just as they do for reciprocity in trade, for the mutual surrender of fugitives from justice, or any other object of common interest. We would thus throw an effectual anchor to the windward against war in any case, and train nations to the habit of settling all their disputes in essentially the same way that individuals do theirs. The thirty-one States of our Confederacy do this; and it is, in the nature of things, equally proper and possible for nations.

We have long been urging upon rulers this simple, easy and effective substitute for war. Nor have they refused a favorable ear to our appeals. It is more than ten years since we first brought definitely before them the

question of superseding war by Stipulated Arbitration; and from that day to this, it has been steadily gaining upon their favor. So long ago as 1848, the British Premier pledged his government to a favorable consideration of such a proposal from our own. Some half a dozen of our State Legislatures, all before which it was properly brought, have, within a little more than a year, passed resolves strongly in favor of this measure. Similar action has also been taken twice by the Committee on Foreign Relations in the Senate of the United States. When the question was brought before our last administration, the President, and his Secretary of State, after a satisfactory examination of the subject, freely avowed their own readiness to insert such a provision in the very important treaty then and still pending between the United States and Great Britain;—a fact which we record with great pleasure to the credit of President Fillmore and Secretary Everett. Our co-workers in England, on learning what we had done, immediately sent a very influential deputation, consisting chiefly of members of Parliament, to wait on their Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in the hope of obtaining from him instructions to their negotiator in favor of the same measure; and at the close of their interview, one of the most distinguished members of the House of Commons wrote us his full belief, that his government would readily accept a proposal from our own for such a stipulation.

Finding thus that the matter hung in prospect on the will of our own rulers, we deemed it imperative upon us to do all in our power to secure their favorable action. Encouraged by the prompt assent of their immediate predecessors in office to the measure, well convinced that an overwhelming majority of our people, if properly informed, would cordially approve it, and urged to special efforts for this object by some of our warmest and most influential supporters, we set ourselves at work in earnest for its accomplishment. We supposed that only some \$10,000 would be needed, though our co-workers in England had just raised \$50,000 for a similar movement there; but, as there was no time to be lost, and as a few had spontaneously pledged for the effort contributions unusually large and liberal, we went forward in reliance on God and our friends for the requisite funds. Not half of \$10,000 has yet been given for this object; but we have still gone on in our arrangements and efforts for its accomplishment. Supposing our rulers would act only in compliance with the known or supposed will of the people, we sought to call forth an effective expression of their wishes in favor of the measure from one end of the land to the other, not only through the pulpit and the press, but in the form of direct petitions to the President himself from every State in the Union. For this purpose we have, in various ways, laid our periodical papers under large contributions, have circulated documents in behalf of the object by tens and scores of thousands, have addressed special circulars to thousands of Christian Ministers in widely remote parts of the land, and have also employed for a longer or shorter time more than twenty agents in most of our thirty-one States to assist in carrying out our plan to a successful issue. To these servants of our cause we owe our thanks, but especially to a zealous and efficient co-worker in Vermont, THOMAS H. PALMER, Esq., for his gratuitous services not only in conduct-

reg an extensive correspondence for this object, but in travelling on the same errand through that and some adjacent States. We are also indebted to several very distinguished gentlemen for consenting to use their personal influence with our National Executive in securing this great measure of perpetual peace between us and the land of our fathers and brethren.

After all, however, we are unable to report as yet the full accomplishment of this object. We have made progress, but have not quite reached the goal. Several months ago, we learned, from a source entitled to the fullest credit, that the British minister at Washington had received instructions on the subject from his own government, and was ready for a proposition from ours, thus proving what we supposed from the first to be true, that the result rests in fact with ourselves. Our own rulers, too, showed a disposition more and more in favor of our request, down to the time when the Nebraska bill was brought forward in Congress; and we devoutly hope that neither this nor any other untoward influence may defeat our efforts for securing this great measure of perpetual peace between us and England; a measure that knows among us no North or South, no East or West, but is one of vast importance alike to every party, sect and section.

Present failure, however, can be only a postponement of success, and should neither discourage our hopes, nor make us regret for a moment what we have attempted. We never made a wiser movement. Whether immediately successful or not in this specific effort, not a particle of labor or expense has been lost, but has been bestowed in ways the most effectual for our cause. We never put its claims before the public on an issue so clear or so popular; one that commends it so fully to all fair, intelligent minds. Never before had we so grand a flag-staff on which to hang out our colors to the nation and the world. Never did our cause, in the same length of time, gain so wide and favorable a notoriety, win so many friends, or get so sure a foothold for future progress and triumph. If unsuccessful now in our special object, we find even in defeat new pledges of its feasibility, and fresh incentives to efforts for obtaining it in due time.

We must, however, say that our experience the past year has impressed us more deeply than ever with the necessity of arrangements far more extensive and efficient for the promotion of our cause. It imperatively demands, with the least possible delay, a network of affiliated organizations all over the land. If we had them in every city and considerable village, we could easily pour upon our rulers such a flood of petitions in behalf of our object as would constrain them at once to take hold of it in earnest, and adopt such substitutes for war as would be morally certain to prevent its recurrence. Should war be threatened, we could soon call forth from the people in every nook and corner of the land such protests as would compel its abettors to desist from their purpose, and lead to a peaceful adjustment of the difficulty. There is no cause whatever more in need of organizations like these; and the prevention of a single war would more than compensate the trouble of keeping them up for a thousand years. We *must* have them, or a full equivalent, for the purpose of *educating* the mass of our people into the sentiments

and habits of peace, and thus making them in due time spontaneous and effective co-workers in our cause. We find in this respect a strange and lamentable deficiency. We have been amazed at the practical indifference of good men, of Christians, and even Christian ministers, to the claims of Peace. They approve our object, and bid us God speed in our efforts, but do very little themselves to help us. Many of them know little of our cause, are but slightly imbued with its spirit, and feel quite inclined to let governments take their own course on this subject, and to wait in indolent reliance on the gospel unapplied for the cure of this terrible evil by some process of which they now have no distinct or very intelligible conception. Yet these are God's chosen agents in the mighty and glorious work of a world's pacification, but will not perform it till roused as they never can be without such an ubiquitous system of means as shall bring its claims home to every minister, every church and every Christian in the land.

The times are calling aloud for such efforts; and the worst discouragements that surround us, should only stimulate our zeal anew. The war-spirit rife among our people, and ready, when sufficiently provoked, to burst forth and spread like wild-fire on a western prairie; the greedy, insatiate desire of multitudes among us for more and still more territory to blight with the curse of slavery, even under the ægis of freedom; the approach in Eastern Europe of a war whose gigantic struggles are likely to shake the world; the calm yet earnest assent of the people both in France and England to this war, as in their view a stern necessity, and their resolute demand for its prosecution at any cost to a triumphant issue for what they deem the right;—all these signs of the times, though seemingly ominous for our cause, ought to be regarded as so many incentives to redoubled activity in its behalf. Now is no time for peace men to fold their hands, and go to sleep, any more than sailors should in a storm, or firemen in the midst of a threatened conflagration. No; it is just the moment for a fresh rally to our heaven-appointed work; and, with the promise and providence of God on our side, we may well labor on, through sunshine and storm, for the blessed consummation that is sure to come in his own good time.

DECEASE OF FRIENDS.—We are impressively reminded by the death of some of our most venerated friends, that whatever we do for this or any other cause of Christian philanthropy, must be done quickly, and ought to be done with all our might. Three very distinguished members of our Society have died during the last year—Rev. DANIEL SHARP, D.D., and Hon. SAMUEL APPLETON, of this city, and ANSON G. PHELPS, Esq., of New York; all eminent for their personal worth, greatly endeared to the community, and accustomed through a long life to take a very active and efficient part in whatever concerns the welfare of mankind. Dr. Sharp and Mr. Phelps were Vice Presidents of our Society; and both Mr. Phelps and Mr. Appleton had long been among its largest contributors.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE SOCIETY'S AFFAIRS DURING THE YEAR.

FINANCES.—The receipts have reached \$5,322,11, an increase of fifty per cent over those of the preceding year, though but a fraction still of what the cause demands; while our expenditures have been \$5,051,25, leaving in our treasury a balance of \$270,86.

PUBLICATIONS.—The press we use as our chief instrument, and employ little more agency service than will barely suffice to keep it duly at work on the public mind. With this view we have provided an apparatus for its efficient working—a monthly periodical as the Society's organ, some 70 tracts, and several popular volumes, besides occasional pamphlets and other documents, to all which we are constantly giving the widest circulation in our power, and using the periodical press in a variety of ways for the advancement of our cause. During the past year, we have increased the issues of our periodical about twenty per cent, have stereotyped several new tracts, and reprinted about fifty numbers in our series, varying in amount from 1,000 to more than 20,000 copies of each, besides a large edition (4000) of the Hon. CHARLES SUMNER's Address before our Society in 1849, revised and enlarged, with an appendix containing in full the Report of Judge UNDERWOOD to the Senate of the United States last year on Stipulated Arbitration as a Substitute for War; a document of eighty octavo pages presenting the most satisfactory view of our cause, as a practicable and feasible enterprise, that can, in the same compass, be found in any language. It was re-published for the purpose of a wide circulation especially among statesmen, and others of leading influence through the land. We have, also, been circulating our volumes, and establishing depositories for their sale in different parts of the country. In several other ways we have laid the press under much larger contributions than usual to our cause.

In this department we rejoice to witness the increasing co-operation of other publishing societies. In the series of tracts issued by the Wesleyan Methodists, we observe some of much ability on Peace; the American Reform Book and Tract Society, whose centre of operation is at Cincinnati, promises to be a very efficient co-adjutor; and it gives us special pleasure to find the American Tract Society, with its vast and widely extended machinery of usefulness, entering this field as a part of its own appropriate sphere, by its offer of *Five Hundred Dollars* as a premium for such a work on Peace, as will be suitable to form a part of its Evangelical Family Library. It seems that a venerable friend of peace has pledged this premium, and a further sum to perpetuate the volume. We know not in what way our friend could have appropriated his liberality to better purpose for the permanent promotion of our object; and, if the Tract Society is faithful to this trust, as we cannot doubt it will be, and sets such a work as the donor prescribes afloat on the strong current which it is spreading far and wide over the whole land, it must perform a most important service for the Cause of Peace. We might allude to other incidental agencies of the press in behalf of our object; but these passing references may suffice to indicate how far, how surely and efficiently it is coming to our aid.

AGENCIES.—Besides our usual office-agent, we have had in our service during the year, three lecturing agents; three others have received commissions to labor for us in the same capacity; and, in carrying out our special effort to insure an arbitration clause in the pending treaty with England, we have employed for a time upwards of twenty local agents, some of them laymen, but most of them ministers of the gospel, in a majority of the States composing our wide-spread Confederacy.

FOREIGN CO-WORKERS. — Our brethren in England have the past year been pursuing their great work with even more than their wonted ability, zeal and energy. We took occasion in our last report to notice, with the commendation it so well deserved, the triumphant issue of the Peace Conference at Manchester in dispelling entirely the strange panic, so widely prevalent there at the time, about a French invasion of England, and thus averting the imminent danger of a war which must have proved fearfully disastrous not only to those countries, but to Europe and the world. With the noble subscription of \$50,000 proposed at that Conference, of which some \$30,000 were pledged on the spot, they started at once a broader scale of operations than ever before, designed to reach every important place in Great Britain; and from these vigorous movements, as well as from the able work which may ere long be expected in response to their offer of a premium of \$1,250 (£250) for the best essay, and of \$500 for the second best, on European Standing Armaments, we anticipate, in due time, results of great importance to our cause.

Encouraged by the success of their demonstration at Manchester, our English friends held, in October last, another Conference at Edinburgh, to counteract the rising disposition to war against Russia in favor of Turkey. But this Conference, though attended by a large number of the ablest men in the kingdom, and embodying in its speeches a vast amount of startling facts, of powerful eloquence, and unanswerable logic, still failed to roll back the war-tide, and save England from the perilous step she has since taken. Its proceedings, scattered through the land by tens of thousands, must, like those of the Manchester Conference, exert a wide and lasting influence on the public mind. These practical and telling appeals in behalf of Peace on issues actually pending at the time, cannot fail, whether immediately successful or not, to accomplish in the end a great deal for our cause. They form an essential part of the *educational process* through which the mass of every people must be carried before we can reach our grand aim of superseding war by a permanent and universal policy of peace.

Let no one, in this season of peculiar trial for our cause, falter for a moment in his faith or his zeal. It is God's cause, and must prevail; for its triumph, sooner or later, is altogether essential to his clearly revealed purposes of mercy respecting our race. Clouds and darkness are now round about his throne; but He who doeth his pleasure in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, can and will make the wrath of man to praise him, and may yet overrule even this ominous struggle to hasten the final prevalence of peace co-extensive with our peaceful religion.